(d) Statement giving reasons for the delay in laying the papers mentioned at (a) and (b) above.

[Placed in Library. *See* No. LT-3695/93.]

II.A. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Commerce, under sub-section (3) of section 17 of the Export (Quality Control and Inspection) Act, 1963:—

(1) S.O. No. 2760, dated the 31st October, 1992 publishing the Export of Frozen Fish and Fishery Products (Quality Control and Inspection) Amenrment Rules, 1992.

(2) S.O. No. 2761, dated the 31st October, 1992 publishing the Export of Canned Fish and Fishery Products (Quality Control and Inspection) Amendment Rules, 1992.

[Placed in Library. *See* No. LT-3549/93.]

(3) S.O. No. 2989, dated the 5th December, 1992 publishing the Export of Dried Fish Inspection (Amendment) Rules, 1992.

B. A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Commerce Notification S.O. No. 2990, dated the 5th December, 1992, repealing the Export of Fish Meal (Inspection) Rules, 1980.

[Placed in Library. *See* No. LT-3550/93.]

MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE SPICES BOARD

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF CIVIL SUPPLIES, CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI RAMAL DDIN AHMED): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"That in pursuance of clause (b) of sub-section (3) of section 3 of the Spices Board Act, 1986 (10 of 1986), read with sub-rule (1) of rule 5 of the Spices Board (Amendment) Rules, 1987, this House do proceed to elect in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House, to be a member of the Spices Board."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

BOMB EXPLOSION IN BOMBAY ON 12TH MARCH, 1993

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we will take up the Calling-Attention Motion on Bombay explosions. Shri Pramod Mahajan. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): Sir, we want the statement first. We will discuss it later on.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not making a speech. He is only calling the attention of the Minister. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: We want a full-fledged discussion on this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I had decided that it would be a Calling-Attention. He is only calling the attention of the Minister. Then, the Minister will make the statement. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan): It can be in the form of a Calling-Attention. What is wrong?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mahajan, have yon called the attention of the Minister? (*Interruptions*)

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : (महाराष्ट्र) : सभापति जी, शुक्रवार, 12 मार्च, 1993 की मुम्बई में हुए बम-विस्फोट और उससे उत्पन्न स्थिति के संबंध में मैं गृह मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं ।

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, what about copies of the statement?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Copies of the Ministers statement are being distributed. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Sir, kindly direct the Minister to start reading the statement after we get the copies of the statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN: They are being distributed. Let him read the statement. You can read simultaneously.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. M. SAYEED): Mr. Chairman, Sir, A series of powerful bomb explosions occurred at 11 places in Bombay on Friday, the 12th March, 1993 between 1320 and 1600 hours. Some of the places where the blasts occurred include the Stock Exchange Building; Kathia Bazar, Masjid Bunder, Air India Building at Nariman Point, Zaveri Bazar, Centaur Hotels at Santacruz and Juhu Sea Rock Hotel at Bandra; near Passport office, Worli; Century Bazar, Worli; Petrol pump opposite Sena Bhavan; and in Plaza Cinema compound. It would be seen that commercially important and crowded places in the City were selected by the perpetrators of the crime with a view to causing a sense of fear and panic, and inflicting maximum damage.

The victims were rushed to different hospitals in the City and all possible medical help was immediately provided. By the noon of 14th March, 1993, 235 persons were reported to have died 1214 persons received injuries. Out of these, 556 persons have been discharged so far after being given necessary medical treatment. 658 persons are still in various hospitals. 59 of them are reported to be in critical condition.

My senior colleague Shri S. B Chavan accompanied by my other colleague Shri Rajesh Pilot, rushed to Bombay the same evening and visited some of the sites of explosion. They visited one of the hospitals where the injured were being treated. They also held discussions with the Chief Minister of Maharashtra and his colleagues, and senior administrative police and intelligence officers of the State.

The Prime Minister Shri P V Narasimha Rao visited Bombay on 13th March, 1993. He visited two of the major sites damaged by the bomb explosions and met the injured persons in St. George Hospital. The Prime Minister urged the State Government to take all necessary steps to identify and apprehend the perpetrators of this ghastly crime as expeditiously as possible. He further directed the investigating agencies to follow every lead in the country as well as outside to identify the culprits.

The Explosive and forensic experts from various concerned organisations of Government of India have rushed on 12th March, 1993. These experts have started their investigations to ascertain the nature of explosives used, detonating mechanism used, the countries where such materials are available etc. Immediate liaison was established by Government of India with International Agencies such as Interpol. Contact was also made with police/security agencies abroad to determine external linkages. Careful study of similar incidents in other countries has been simultaneously taken up.

The following arms/ammunition have been recovered from a car in Worli:

(i) A. K. 56 Rifles—7.

(ii) Empty magazines of A. K.-56—14.

(iii) Hand Grenades—4.

Fnrther investigation is in progress.

Apart from the State Reserve Police, 3 CRPF Companies, 4 BSF Companies and 8 RAF Companies are also deployed in Bombay. Six more CRPF Companies have been rushed to Bombay. As a precautionary measures, 19 Columns of Army have been deployed by the State Government at selected locations in Bombay.

The Chief Minister of Maharashtra has announced financial assistance to the victims of the bomb blasts at the rate of Rs. 2 lakhs to the next of the kin of the deceased and Rs. 25,000 for the **permanently disabled**, Rs. 10,000 for partially disable. Free treatment for the injured has been arranged in Government and Municipal Hospitals. In addition, Government of Maharashtra has also decided to give financial assistance of Rs. 5,000 to the injured if he/she is in the hospital for more than 24 hours. The State Government has taken all necessary steps to ensure that normal activities in the City of Bombay are not disturbed in any way.

The Ministry of Home Affairs alerted all the States and Union Territories to take immediate necessary precautionary measures to prevent recurr ence of similar incidents and to str engthen security arrangements at strategic places. Adequate precautions have been taken at international airports.

As the Prime Minister has stated, these ghastly acts have been designed to hurt our country's economic progress and to create disturbances to thwart our economic growth. We must fight this grave challenge. I want to assure this Honourable House that the Government of India as well as the Government of Maharashtra will do the very best to bring the culprits to book as expeditiously as possible. We are determined to meet this challenge with all the resources and expertise at our command.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : (उत्तर प्रदेश) चेयरमन सर एक, व्यवस्था का प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं । यह मंत्री महोदय बंबई शायद नहीं गए थे और स्टेटमेंट पढ दी गई . . . (**व्यवधान**) उनको बोलने दीजिए . . . (**व्यवधान**) उनको जवाब देने दीजिये । यह स्टेटमेंट है गृह मंत्री की तरफ से । चव्हाण साहब तो वहां गए थे । सईद साहब गए थे या नहीं गए थे, यह बता दें . . . (**व्यवधान**)

MR. CHAIAMAN: Please...The Home Minister will be speaking here later.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I am asking only one question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is on behalf of the Government of India.

. . . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: There are two Ministers who have been to Bombay—the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan and the Minister of State, Mr. Rajesh Pilot. One of them should have been present here . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can ask during the debate. During the discussion it will come up... (*Interruptions*) . . .

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, the Minister of State for Internal Security, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, and the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, have been to Bombay. One of them could be here.

. . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Minister will clarify... (*Interruptions*) . . . Will you please sit down? I would like to listen to one person at a time.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: The statement is wrong.

... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, the Home Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, might be in the other House. But we are having a Minister of State for Internal Security, Mr. Rajesh Pilot. He has also visited Bombay. Where is he? He can come here and make a statement... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you listen to the Minister? He is giving a reply to a point... (*Interruptions*) ...Let the Government give a reply to a point.

वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री और संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (डा० अबरार अहमद) : गृह मंत्री चव्हाण साहब इस डिस्कशन का जवाब देंगे, चव्हाण साहब खुद जवाब देंगे, जो डिस्कशन यहां हो रहा है ... **(व्यवध**

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह (बिहार) : यह बिल्कुल सवाल सही है। अगर दो मंत्री गए थे तो एक को यहां आना चाहिए था ... **(व्यवधान)**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down The Minister is going to reply... (*Interruptions*) ...He is going to give you a reply.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. P. M. SAYEED: Sir, I have made a statement on behalf of the Government. Whatever points are raised during the discussion by the hon. Members, the reply would be given either by the senior colleague or myself. I stand here to say that whatever is the latest, on behalf of the Government I have already made the statement... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): That is one point. But after the two Ministers visited Bombay, those who are concerned with it, why are we begin neglected?... (*Interruptions*) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Obviously he will come. I think one cannot say that a particular Minister of State should come here. I don't think you can insist on that. There is no rule of the House that a Minister who is there should make a statement. There is no such rule whatever.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There is no such rule, I undedstand that. But the question is, there are two Ministers who have actually visited Bombay—Mr. Chavan and Mr. Pilot. Mr. Chavan might be engaged in the other House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am saying that the Home Minister himself, who visited Bombay, will come and speak here.... (interruptions).... what else do you need? ... (*Interruptions*

SHRI P. M. SAYEED: I have made a statement on behalf of the Government. Whether it is on behalf of my senior colleague for myself. I can give the reply ... (*Interruptions*) ...

The House cannot take exception to that... (*Interruptions*) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pramod Mahajan, please go ahead.

... (*Intedruptions*) ...

SHRI P. M. SAYEED: I might not have gone to Bombay, but I have made the statement on behalf of the Government.

... (*Intedruptions*) ...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: You have not "made" the statement. Mr. Minnster. You have "read" the statement. .. .. ..

... (*Intedruptions*) ...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTER OF STATE IN ..HE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARETALVA): Sir ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Mrs. Alva went shopping to Madras! How can she speak on this?...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Sir, may I point out that the same statement is also being made in the other House...(*Interruptions*)... Let finish. The statement here has been made by the Minister of State. In the case of a Call-Attention notice, it has to be replied to at the end. The Minister of State is here, and the moment Chavan Saheb finishes with the other House ...(*Intedruptions*)..

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Where is Mr. Rajes Pilot? ...(*Interruptions*) Where is the other Minister? ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: We have understood you! ...(*Intedruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I on't feel that it is an issue on which there should be so much commotion in the House. I don't think that there is any reason to have so much commotion in the House. Let us proceed with the discussion. This is the most important discussion. I would appeal to the House: Pleased have a reasonbla discussion on this instead of starting this row on this. Mr. Pramod Mahjan.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): You just convey our feelings to the Minister.

(The Deputy Chairman in the Chair)

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति महोदया, अभी मेरे सारे साथियों ने जो प्रारंभ में विषय उठाया, मैं सबसे पहले उस पर जरूर जोर देना चाहूंगा । जो सदन में विद्यमान गृह राज्य मंत्री हैं उन के बारे में मेरे मन में बड़ा आदर और सम्मान है । मैं यह भी नियम जानता हूं कि सरकार की ओर से मुम्बई बम विस्फोट पर तीसरे गृह राज्य मंत्री क्या, चाहें तो वित्त मंत्री भी अपना वक्तव्य सरकार की ओर से दे सकते हैं । सवाल यहां नियम का नहीं है । अगर मुम्बई में इतनी बड़ी अप्रत्याशित दुर्घटना हो गई और आप भी उन दोनों के साथ चले जाते तो अच्छा होता । फिर कोई आपत्ति नहीं होती । लेकिन हमें यह बताया गया कि कम से कम समाचार-पत्रों में कि आपको दिल्ली में ऐसी कोई स्थिति निर्माण हो तो उस पर नजर रखने के लिए यहां रहने के लिए कहा गया है और विशेष रूप से चव्हाण जी और पाइलेट जी मुम्बई गए... **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a very serious discussion. Let us do it in that spirit.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति, महोदय, ये आयु में बडे हैं, लेकिन मानसिक आयु में कमी है, मुझे उनको प्रतिक्रिया के बारे में कुछ कहना नहीं है । मैं केवल आग्रहपूर्वक इतना ही कह रहा था कि अच्छा होता सदन की भी प्रतिष्ठा रहती, हमारी चर्चा सुनकर... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री कैलाश नारायण सारंग : (मध्य प्रदेश) अरे, बंबई तो नहीं बचा सके यहां क्या कर रहे हो ? ... **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please. Please. I would request the hon. Members that this is a very serious subject. Thousands of people have been affected, and so many lives, innocent lives, have been wasted. I would request the hon. Members kindly to discuss it in the same spirit so that the Government can come forward and explain to the Members

about the situation in Bombay and what arrangements they have made for the future. Thank you.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति महोदया, शांति निर्मिति के लिए आपका धन्यवाद । मैं केवल पूरे सम्मान के साथ इतना ही कहना चाह रहा था कि अगर इन मंत्रियों में से जो दूरदर्शन पर मुंबई का हाल देखते हुए देखें गए, आज निकट दर्शन में भी यहां पर उपस्थित होते तो शायद हमारी चर्चा सुनकर अधिक लाभ हो सकता था । पता नहीं वह क्यों नहीं आए ।

उपसभापति महोदया, मुंबई में गत शुक्रवार को जो घटना हुई . . . **(व्यवधान)**

डा. अबरार अहमद : मैडम, सुबह गृह मंत्री जी के साथ सभी लीडर साहबान मौजूद थे जिनमें सिकंदर बख्त साहब, यशवंत सिन्हा जी, सभी पार्टियों के लीडर मौजूद थे । यह बात बहुत स्पष्ट रूप से उठी थी कि चव्हाण साहब खुद बयान देना चाहते थे, खुद हाउस के अंदर आना चाहते मैं, लेकिन एक आदमी एक समय में दो जगह नहीं हो सकता. . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री कमल मोरारका : दो मंत्री मुंबई गए थे, यहां क्यों नहीं आए । हम लोगों ने वह मामला छोड़ दिया था, फिर भी आप बहस करते हैं . . . **(व्यवधान)**

The Government is trying to be arrogant. They could not control the blasts in Bombay.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now that matter is closed . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

Mr. Abrar Ahmed, plese. That matter is closed. That matter is closed now. Take your seta, please.. (*Intedruptions*) . . .

DR. ABRAR AHMED: He cannot say like this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Abrar Ahmed, pleased take your seat. . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

To me that matter is closed.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Let have a discussion on this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: T matter is closed. Now take your s pleased. . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

DR. ABRAR AHMED: No. You ca ont say like this. . . . . .

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: are not here at your mercy. We not to hear that† from you. J because you are against the BJP, are not going to tolerate your ar gance. Your Minister was arroga We will not tolerate the arrogan If Mr. Chavan cnnot come, Mr. Pi should have come here.

DR. ABRAR AHMAD: Your l ders were creating the same type atmosphare that we are. . . .

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: have no business to be. . (Interr tions) Bombay is burning. When y cannot come, we would ask. Wh is Mr. Pilot? We want to Konw th (*Intreruptions*) Where is Mr. Pil We will not tolerate. We are here at anybody's mercy. Mada please listen to me. That matter h ended. There was n oreason for Government to provoke that mat again.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: N that matter is closed for me.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Y So, please tell them not to start it

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: N whn the Members have star speaking, in the same spirit again request the hon: Members to spe Nobody is udermining the imporia of Mr. P. M. Sayeed to make a sta ment. Not at ll (Interruptions) let it now go. The demand was o that the person who had gone th personally would be the right per to understand. That was the o reason. I hope so. That is over. N the matter is cloed. Nobody is go to speak on that.

†Expunged ss ordered by the Ch

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति महोदया, आपके इतना कहने के बाद कुछ कहने को बचता नहीं है इसलिए इस विषय में मैं आगे कुछ कहना नहीं चाहूंगा । आशा है मेरी सुने या न सुने आपकी ये अवश्य सुनेंगे ।

उपसभापति महोदया, मुंबई में शुक्रवार को जो घटना हुई वह न केवल मुंबई के इतिहास में, न केवल हमारे देश के इतिहास में अपितु सारे विश्व के इतिहास में एक अप्रत्याशित घटना थी । शांति के समय में एक दिन में दो घंटों के भीतर 12 बम विस्फोट हों और 250 से अधिक व्यक्तियों की मृत्यु हो, इतनी बड़ी दुर्घटना सारे विश्व के इतिहास में कहीं नहीं हुई और इसलिए मुझे लगता है कि इस घटना के संबंध में सोचते समय इसकी व्यापकता, इसकी भयानकता और इसके दुरगामी परिणामों को समझना चाहिए । यह सच है कि बम विस्फोट स्टॉक एक्सचेंज में हुआ या एयर इंडिया की बिल्डिंग में हुआ जो व्यापारिक अनुसंधान है, लेकिन मुझे लगता है यह मानना कि बम विस्फोट का मूल कारण केवल हमारी आर्थिक नीतियों का या प्रगति का विरोध करना था, यह भी एक कारण हो सकता है लेकिन अगर हम इसको केवल कुछ आर्थिक कारणों से जोड़ भी दें तो मुझे यह लगता है सरकार को इस बम विस्फोट की जो गहराई की स्थिति है वह समझ में नहीं आई है । यह बम विस्फोट केवल आर्थिक प्रगति के विरोध में थे, आर्थिक सुधार जो अभी तक हुए नहीं उसके विरोध में थे इस प्रकार की भावना सच नहीं है । हम यह मानते हैं कि यह बम विस्फोट इस देश की एकात्मता और अंखडता पर प्रहार था । जिस किसी ने किया उस किसी ने यह बता दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा देश है उस देश की आर्थिक और राजनीतिक स्थिति में लगभग 30 किलोमीटर के भीतर हर 5–10 मिनट में जहां भीड़-भाड़ हो ऐसे स्थानों पर एक व्यापक षड़यंत्र बनाकर दम विस्फोट किए जा सकते हैं । न कोई पहले पकडा जा सकता है न कोई बम विस्फोट करते समय पकड़ा जा सकता है और न कोई बम विस्फोट होने के बाद पकड़ा जा सकता है ।

इसलिए इसको केवल मुंबई की घटना नहीं समझना चाहिए । मुझे लगता है कि इस घटना से शायद दुनिया में जो हमारे दुष्मन हैं उनके लिए तो हिन्दुस्तान ऐसी भूमि है कि जहां जा कर आप कुछ भी विध्वंशक करो, कोई रोकने वाला नहीं है । इस प्रकार की मानसिकता का परिचय इससे होगा । इसलिए मुझे लगता है कि स्टॉक एक्सचेंज में यह घटना हुई, इसलिए इसको आर्थिक सुधारों से जोड़ दें, इतनी छोटी-सी बात हम सोचें, यह ठीक नहीं है । ये जो बम विस्फोट हुए हैं ये देश की एकात्मकता और अंखडता पर प्रहार थे, इस मानसिकता पर सरकार आएगी तो मुझे लगता है कि सरकार बम विस्फोटों के परिणामों को समझ कर कुछ ठीक प्रकार से उपाय भी ढूंढेंगी ।

बम विस्फोट, जिस दिन हुए उस दिन से आज सुबह तक में मुम्बई शहर में था । इन बारह बम विस्फोटों के तीन अगल प्रकार हैं, परंतु दुर्भाग्य से मेरी ध्यानाकर्षण सूचना के उत्तर में उस प्रकार का विश्लेषण गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्य में कहीं नहीं है । यह वक्तव्य बड़ा ही निराशाजनक है । मुझे ऐसा लगा कि सदन में आने के बाद गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्य में ऐसा कुछ मिलेगा जो मैंने सुबह तक समाचार पत्रों में नहीं पढ़ा होगा । मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि समाचार पत्रों में जो आया है उसकी जानकारी हमारे गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्य में कम है । मृतकों की संख्या भी गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्य में दी गई है वह 14 तारीख के दोपहर को मिली सूचना के अनुसार वह 15 तारीख की दोपहर में बात कर रहे हैं । किस गंभीरता से इस स्टेटमेंट को देखें, यह भी मेरे सामने एक प्रश्न चिन्ह खड़ा होता है और इसलिए कि मैं सदन को बताना चाहता हूं कि जितने बम विस्फोट हुए उसके तीन अलग अलग स्थान थे, उनको तीन अलग अलग हिस्सों में बांटा जा सकता है । एक तो मुम्बई का स्टॉक एक्सचेंज, दूसरा एयर इंडिया की बिल्डिंग और काटा बाजार । ये तो व्यापार से जुड़े हुए स्थान थे । दूसरे स्थान थे शिव सेना भवन, प्लाजा जो वी. शांतिराम का चित्रपट गृह है । मैं नहीं समझता

कि इसका आर्थिक सुधारों से कोई संबंध है जिसका उल्लेख इसमें नहीं किया गया है । माहिम की मछली मार कालोनी में बम फेंके गए और बम एक मारूति कार से फैंके गए । इस बारे में वक्तव्य मोन है और वक्तव्य यहां तक निराशाजनक है कि दादर में जो स्कूटर में रखा गया बम पकडा गया और जिसके बारे में कहा जाता है कि वह बम भी उतनी ही ताकत का था जितना वर्ली या स्टाक एक्सजेंज का या एयर इंडिया का था । उस बारे में एक शब्द भी इसमें नहीं है ।

यह स्कूटर बम जो था वह एक नये स्कूटर में था और केवल 43 किलोमीटर चला था और एक डाक्टर की दुकान के सामने लाकर खड़ा किया गया था । मैं गृह मंत्री को महाराष्ट्र शासन की विशेषता बताऊं, उसकी कुशलता बताऊं कि इस स्कूटर को किसी पुलिस वाले ने नहीं पकड़ा था । यह बात तो से डाक्टर और जनता के ध्यान में आई तो उन्होंने पुलिस का ध्यान उस तरफ दिलाया और तब जाकर पुलिस वहां पहुंची । आपने तो पता नहीं कितनी कम्पनियों का हिसाब बताया है, लेकिन बे कम्पनियां वहां क्या कर रही थी, वह यह समझ में नहीं आता है । लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि इसे वक्तव्य में उस स्कूटर बम का उल्लेख भी नहीं है और दादर का उल्लेख इसलिये कर रहा हूं कि यह बम भी दादर में मिला था । मुझे कभी कभी लगता है कि एक तो व्यापारिक संगठन थे और दूसरे राजनैतिक संगठन थे, शिव सेना भवन हो, प्लाजा हो, इन संगठनों के कार्यालय वहां थे । मैं आपको यह भी बताना चाहता हूं कि जो स्कूटर बम सहित पकड़ा गया है वहां से भारतीय जनता पार्टी का कार्यालय बहुत ही नजदीक है । अगर आपको जानकारी न हो तो श्री जगेश देसाई से पूछ सकते ने **(व्यवधान)**

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इतनी गभीर बात को भी ये शांति से नहीं सुन रहे हैं.! **(व्यवधान)**

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : शास्त्री जी, मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि प्लाजा कब से राजनैतिक संगठन हुआ है ? वी० शांताराम किसी राजनैतिक संगठन से नहीं जुड़े हुये थे ।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मैं क्षमा चाहता हूं । प्लाजा कोई राजनैतिक संगठन नहीं है । यह आर्थिक सुधारों का केन्द्र था और सरकार के आर्थिक सुधार इतनी तेजी से प्लाजा में हो रहे थे कि उनको रोकने के लिये शायद वहां पर बम फटा हो और इसलिये मुझे लगता है कि! . . .

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Madam, I am respectfully sumbitting that this is not a BJP issue, this is a national issue. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Right. That is why.... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please.

आप बैठजाइये ।

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Madam, we are inttrested in listening to him. Please tell them not to interrupt.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not permitting any more interruptions.

SHRI MADADN BHATIA: I want to submit....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not want any more interruptions.

आप भी बैठ जाइये ।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Please do not make it a BJP issue. It is a national issue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request hon. Members again. This is a very serious matter. I request them to speak in that spirit and not to try to interrup each other.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति महोदय, मैंने राजनैतिक दलों के कार्यालयों का उल्लेख इसलिये नहीं किया कि मुझे किसी की सहानुभूति की आवश्यकता है । मैं आपको केवल इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि जो शिव सेना भवन के पास का पेट्रोल पंप था, जहां बम फटा वहां नीचे 6 हजार लिटर पेट्रोल था । अगर वह (**व्यवधान**) जगेश भाई गये नहीं होंगे मुंबई इसलिये मैं कह रहा हूं (**व्यवधान**) शिव सेना भवन के तीन तरफ पेट्रोल पंप थे । मैं खुद जाकर देख आया हूं । वह सामने पेट्रेल पंप अलग है । (**व्यवधान**)

...(Interruptions).

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Madam, he should not be interrupted in this way unnecessarily.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Taht is what I have ruled.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मैडम, इंटरप्ट करें, लेकिन सच्चाई पर न करें गलत इंफारमेशन पर किया करें । अगर मेरी गलती हो, जरर करें ।

इसलिये मैं आपको बताऊं कि बिल्कुल एक दीवार है बीच में, पड़ोस में । कहीं अगर वह भवन नष्ट होता है तो उससे मुंबई में दंगे भड़कने की संभावना थी । इसलिये मैं कह रहा हूं कि जिन देश के दुश्मनों ने यह किया उन्होंने व्यापार संगठन जैसे ढूंढे, वैसे ही उन्होंने राजनैतिक संगठनों को भी इसमें घसीटकर मुंबई को एक बार फिर दंगों की चपेट में लाने का प्रयास किया । (**व्यवधान**) इसमें मुझे समझ में नहीं आता कि क्या गलत है । सीरियसनेस जो नहीं समझते हैं, उनके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना है ।

तीसरा, इसका जो भाग है वह यह है कि जो पंचतारांकित होटल थे, वहां जानबूझकर हमने पूछताछ करने की कोशिश की, यह हिन्दुस्तान का कोई बहुत बड़ा नोन-होटल नहीं था–पूछने पर पता चला कि शीराक में, वहां जो इंटरनेशनल हाकी टूर्नामेंट होने जा रहा था, तो सारे देशों के जो हाकी के खिलाड़ी थे, वह शीराक में ठहरे थे । इसलिये वहां बम विस्फोट कया गया । पीछे जैसा कि मैंने कहा एक तरफ व्यापारिक संगठन और दूसरी तरफ कुछ दलों के इलाके और तीसरी तरफ उनकी ओर से यह प्रयास था कि हम एक ऐसा तमाशा करें जिससे सारी दुनिया में मैसेज जाय कि आज के भारत में कोई ताकत बची नहीं है । लेकिन इन चीजों का विश्लेषण, दुर्भाग्य से गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्य में नहीं आया है । मैं इस संबंध में यह जानना चाहूंगा कि इतनी अप्रत्याशित घटना है और इतने छटे छोटे मुद्दों पर मुझे टोका जा रहा है, लेकिन क्या सरकार को कोई यह पूछ सकता है कि इतने बड़े शहर में, 35 किलोमीटर की लंबाई पर 12 जगहों पर बम विस्फोट हुये तो क्या सरकार की गुप्तचर संस्थाओं की ओर से उन्हें इसके बारे में किसी प्रकार का कोई अंदाज दिया गया था ? इसकी जानकारी तो साधारण व्यक्ति को ही नहीं सकती । समाचार-पत्रों में दोनों प्रकार की उल्लेख छपा है और यह भी छपा है कि सरकार को जानकारी नहीं थी । अगर यह माना जाय कि सरकार को जानकारी नहीं थी तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि यह सबसे बडी गंभीर घटना है । मुंबई में लगातार दो बार दंगों के बावजूद भी अगर सरकार को इसका पता नहीं था, क्योंकि केवल एक जगह पर किसी ने जाकर बम विस्फोट किया हो, ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है। स्टाक एक्सचेंज जहां बम विस्फोट हुआ है, पार्किंग लाज में खड़ी गाड़ी रखने के लिये साल में डेढ़ लाख रुपया देना पड़ता है । इसलिए किसी की गाडी वहां ऐसे ही जा कर खडी नहीं होती । अब वहां अगर विस्फोट हुआ है तो इसका अर्थ यह है कि बहुत सोच समझ कर प्लानिंग की गई होगी, कोई आठ, दस, पंद्रह दिन पहले स्टाक एक्सचेंज गया होगा । एयर इंडिया की बिल्डिंग में, भी सिक्यूरिटी होती है, वहां भी गए होंगे । आफिसर लोगों ने इतनी बडी प्लानिंग की । जैसे कि सरकार खुद कहती है कि यह अधिकांश कार बम थे एक-आध को छोड़ कर । सब कारें

नई थीं मारुति थी, एयर इंडिया के सामने कंटस्सा थी । मैंने जिस स्कूटर का उल्लेख किया वह स्कूटर कुल 43 किलोमीटर चला था । इसका मतलब है कम से कम इन बम विस्फोट के लिए कम से कम 10–12–15 गाडियां का उपयोग हुआ । यह गाडियां खरीदी गई और लोग चला कर के उस स्थान पर ले गए होंगे । अब कोई कहता है कि वहां टाइम बम होंगे । अगर टाइम बम नहीं होंगे तो रिमोट कंट्रोल से विस्फोट हुआ । रिमोट कंट्रोल का मतलब है कोई उसको चलाने वाला अलग था । उसको खरीदने वाला अलग था । रिमोट कंट्रोल वाला अलग था । इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि कम से कम इसमें 100 लोग इनवाल्व तो थे ही । उसके खर्च का आप हिसाब लगा नहीं सकते । हमने तो मुख्य मंत्री से जानकारी ली, वे पूर्व रक्षा मंत्री होने के कारण विस्फोटक, के बारे में डायरेक्ट जानकारी रखते हैं । उन्होंने हम से यह कहा कि एक एक बम में लगभग बीस से चालीस किलोग्राम तक एक्सप्लोसिव यूज किए गए हैं और हर एक की कीमत 50 लाख रुपए के आसपास है । इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि एक्सप्लोसिव्ज पर पांच करोड रुपया खर्च हुआ होगा । अब पांच करोड का खर्च एक्सप्लोसिव्ज में और अगर 10–12–20 नई गाडियां यदि टूटें तो उसकी कोई चिंता वह संगठन नहीं करता है । गाडियां का खर्चा, व्यक्तियों का खर्चा और बिलकुल एक समय पर, एक दो नहीं फटे हैं मानों कोई जैसे पटाखों की लडी लगा दी हो एक के बाद एक दूसरा दक्षिण से शुरू हो कर उत्तर तक धीरे धीरे हर 10–15 मिनट पर विस्फोट होते गए । इसकी भयानकता को सोच कर के सरकार ने कोई उत्तर दिया है, मैं नहीं समझता कि इस भयानकता को आपने सोचा है । पांच-दस करोड रुपया खर्च करके' भी सौ पचास लोग जिसमें तीन सौ लोगों की हत्या हुई, उसके संबंध में इस भयानकता को सोचा ही नहीं गया । अब हमारे मन में प्रश्न यह खडा होता है कि अगर सौ लोग इनवाल्व थे तो तीन, चार, पांच दिन पहले कुछ करते होंगे, हमारी गुप्तचर संस्थाऐं क्या कर रही थी । बड़ी बड़ी संस्थाओं का हम नाम लेते हैं। अब पता नहीं क्यों उन संस्थाओं में हम राजनीतिक लोग भर देते हैं , इसलिए वह ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं देते हैं । वहां की पुलिस क्या कर रहीं थी । कभी कभी मुझे लगता है कि

the police was more interested in just getting the name-boards of the Shiv Sena and the BJP than the bombs.

आपका जो संकेत था उस संकेत पर पुरी तरह से पुलिस लगी थी बोर्ड हटाने पर और यह लगा रहे थे बम । . . . . . **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Once again you are making a political speech.

SHRI PRAMOMD MAHAJAN: ThTis is the political issue of an incompetent Government. You have no right to rule this country. . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: How competent was your Government the people of this country have understood. How competent you were in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh, the people of this country have understood. . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

SHRI S.K.T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, they should not take political mileage out of this incident. This is a very serious issue. . . . (*Interruptions*) . . . They have already kept the country in the deluge of . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, order.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति, महोदया, मैं यहां कोई भजन कीर्तन के लिए नहीं खडा हुआ हूं । इस निक्कमी सरकार की जनता की आदलत के कटहरे में खडा कर रहा हूं **(व्यवधान)** जनता की आदलत के कटहरे में खडा होना पडेगा आपको **(व्यवधान)** जब आपके गृह मंत्री उत्तर दें बोले या जब आप बोलें

तो बोलें लेकिन बीच बीच में रोक नहीं सकते हैं **(व्यवधान)**

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : महोदया, अभी दो मिनट पहले यह कह रहे थे कि इसको बी.जे.पी. का मुद्दा न बनाया जाए, कोई राजनीतिक स्वार्थ-सिद्धि के लिए यहां पर वक्तव्य न रखा जाए।

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री : यह लोग... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : प्रमोद महाजन जी ... **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request the Members not to interrupt.

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : प्रमोद महाजन जी बहुत अच्छे वक्ता हैं और अपना केस बहुत अच्छी तरह से रख सकते हैं। ऐसा कहना कि आप भजन कीर्तन करने नहीं आए ... **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request the Members to sit down.

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : आप तो पूरे मूड में भजन कीर्तन कर रहे हैं **(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : एक मिनट। **(व्यवधान)** आप जरा खामोश हो जाइए।

आपका नाम मेरे पास लिस्ट में है। जब आप बोलेंगे तो जरूर उनका जवाब दीजिए। मैं फिर आपसे रिक्वैस्ट करती हूं कि शांति और बहुत गम्भीरता के साथ इस विषय पर जो चर्चा हो रही है आप उसको समझकर जरूर जवाब दीजिए। उनकी बात का अगर आपको लगता है, उनकी आपकी बात का लगता है तो वे आपको जवाब दे लेकिन इस मुद्दे को कमजोर न करें।

(श्री प्रमोद महाजन) उपसभापति महोदया, मैं यह प्रश्न पूछ रहा था कि अगर गुप्तचर संस्थाओं ने जानकारी दी और सरकार खामोश रही तो सरकार जिम्मेदार है और अगर गुप्तचर संस्थाओं ने आपको जानकारी नहीं दी तो इन संस्थाओं के अस्तित्व पर प्रश्नचिन्ह लग जाता है आखिर इन संस्थाओं की आवश्यकता क्या है ? इतनी बडी सारी संस्थायें हमने निर्मित कर रखी हैं, पूरे देश विदेश में सारा फैलाकर चखा है, हमारी करोडों रुपया हम गुप्तचर संस्थाओं पर खर्च करते हैं और इतनी अनहोनी घटना हमारे शहर में हो जाए, हमारे देश में हो जाए तथा गुप्तचर संस्थाओं को उसका पता ही न चले तो मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूं– उत्तर में वह कहें–कि क्या उन्होंने गुप्तचर संस्थाओं के प्रमुखों को बुलाकर यह पूछा कि यह जानकारी आपने क्यों नहीं मिलाई

Are they accountable to anybody? Is the RAW accountable to the nation?

उनका पैसा, खर्च मत बताइए लेकिन यह देश का सवाल है यह किसी दल का सवाल नहीं है। आज आम आदमी को यह लगता है कि उसके किसी के हाथ में सूटकेस है तो उसमें बम हो सकता है। अभी अभी मेरे पास चिट्ठी आई है कि मायंडर का जो बडा पुल है पश्चिम रेलवे का उसके नीचे बम रखा है। इस प्रकार प्रकार का फोन आया है और चार घंटे से वहां स्क्वाइड नहीं पहुंचा है। सावल की गम्भीरता की समझ लीजिए। इसमें यह मायंदर का पुल टूटेगा तो कोई बी. जे.पी. का घर नहीं है लेकिन यह देश की संपत्ति है। किसको आप सुरक्षा देना चाहते हैं ? अगर गुप्तचर संस्थाओं ने आपको नहीं बताया तो वे दोशी हैं और इस दोष के लिए सरकार उनके खिलाफ क्या कार्यवाही करेगी।

महराष्ट्र के जो पूर्व राज्यपाल थे श्री सुब्रहमणयम, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वे इस देश के वरिष्ठ नेता हैं, उनको वैसे आज की रोज की राजनीति से किसी से संबंध नहीं है लेकिन जब उन्होंने अपने पद को छोड़ा तो उस पद को छोडते समय उन्होंने यह कहा और जो शायद सदन की जानकारी में भी हैं कि बम्बई में जो

वंगे हुए उनके पीछे विदेशी हाथ था । मैं यह आरोप नहीं कर रहा हूं । उसी प्रदेश का वह गवर्नर रह चुका है । अब इस आरोप को लगभग डेढ महीना हो गया है . . **(व्यवधान)** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि राज्यपाल ने जब इस प्रकार का वक्तव्य दिया तो उनको कोई तो जानकारी होगी, उनको कहीं से तो जानकारी मिली होगी, सरकार ने क्या उस समय उनसे पूछा । सरकार ने क्या डेढ महीने में उनसे यह पूछने का प्रयास किया कि आपने इतना बड़ा स्टेटमेंट दे दिया, आपको क्या जानकारी है हमको बतायें । मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि कम से कम कल रात तक न केंद्रीय सरकार ने न महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने उनसे यह पूछा है कि आपकी यह जनकारी कहां से आई थी । हमको थोड़ा सा सुराग तो दीजिए ताकि इससे कोई रास्ता मिले । यह सरकार के काम करने की पद्धति है । मुख्य मंत्री बदले जाते हैं लेकिन महाराष्ट्र सरकार तो एक ही है । राजनीतिक दल बदले जाते हैं लेकिन भारत सरकार तो एक ही है और अगर ऐसी एक सरकार है तो सुब्रहमणयम जी ने जो कहा उस पर किसी ने कार्यवाही नहीं की और आज तक अगर नहीं हुई तो इसका दोषी कौन है ? ये निरपराध जो मरे । क्या इसकी जिम्मेदारी कोई नहीं लेगा ।

आगे मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री बम्बई गए । बहुत जल्दी आए । अधिक स्थानों पर जाना उनके लिए शायद संभव न हो इसलिए वे व्यापारिक स्थानों पर चले गए । उसके कारण भी हो सकता है उनको यह लगा कि यह केवल आर्थिक है, और स्थानों पर जाते तो शायद और भी उसमें जो फैक्टर हैं वे उनके ध्यान में आते । प्रधान मंत्री जी ने समाचार पत्र वालों से बोलते समय यह कहा कि इस घटना का मस्तिष्क भले बाहर का हो, हाथ यहीं का है ।

"The brain may be outside, but the hand is inside."

अब मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि गृह मंत्री जब वक्तव्य कर रहे हैं, 48 घंटे हुए प्रधान मंत्री ने यह कहा . . . .। कि इसका मस्तिष्क बाहर है, लकिन हाथ भीतर है ।

मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या किसी एक हाथ को भी अभी तक पकडा ? हाथ को नहीं पकडा, जो जानकारी दी है, चतुराई सरकार ने दिखाई । वर्ली में एक बार का उल्लेख वक्तव्य में है छटे बिन्दु पर–हमें राइफल कितनी मिली यह तो लिखा है, हथगोला कितने मिले यह तो लिखा है, जांच आगे हो रही है यह हाथ से लिखा है, लेकिन यह नहीं लिखा कि यह कार किसकी थी, कुछ का नम्बर था, इसका रजिस्ट्रेशन था और इसका मालिक था या इसका ड्राइवर था-क्या उनका पकडा, यह कौन आदमी थे इसके पीछे कुछ तो जानकारी देते अगर यह आदमी सात ए.के. 56 राइफल्स और ए.के. 56 राइफल्स की 14 खाली मैगजीने लेकर जा रहे थे, वह गाडी खाली मिली, बंद मिली, खुली मिली, ड्राइवर के साथ मिली उसका रजिस्ट्रेशन किसके नाम है––मैं फिर कोई नाम ले लूं, तो कहेंगे कि राजनीति बीच में ला रहे हैं इसलिए मैं नाम नही लेता हूं । मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूं कि गाड़ी का मालिक कौन है, आपने उसको पकड कर रखा ।

आपने कुछ नहीं किया और इसलिए इस हाथ को पकडने के लिए अभी तक आपने कोई कदम नहीं उठाए हैं । स्टाक एक्सचेंज का धमाका होने के बाद भी मुम्बई का इन्टरनेशनल हवाई-अड्डा बंद नहीं किया गया है । दूसरे किसी भी देश में घंटे-डेढ घंटे के भीतर इतने बम विस्फोट होते, तो पुलिस कांस्टेबल भी यह जान सकता था कि सब से पहले भागने वाले और आपके समाचार-पत्र क्या लिखते हैं कि सब 5-स्टार होटल खाली हो गए सब दौड गए और उड गए । अब उनमें से जैन्यून पैसेंजर कौन थे, और इनमें से जाने वाले कितने थे, किसी को पता नहीं आपने इटरनेशनल हवाई-अड्डे बंद नहीं किया और समुद्र का मार्ग तो मुक्त है मैडम । इसलिए आप उसको रोक नहीं सकते हैं । रास्ते सील नहीं किए ।

आज तक आपने एक आदमी को नहीं पकड़ा । इसलिए आपने बाद में भी जो किया, मैं समझता हूं कि गुप्तचर संस्थाओं ने आपको जानकारी नहीं दी, उनकी गलती है, हो सकता है अचानक हुआ, थे विश्वास नहीं करता, लेकिन मानता हूं चलो अचानक हुआ । लेकिन होने के बाद आपने क्या किया । यह जो यहां लिखा है कि इस दुर्घटना में शिकार हुए व्यक्तियों को तत्काल शहर के विभिन्न अस्पातालों में पहुंचाया गया और तुरंत सभी चिकित्सा सुविधायें उपलब्ध कराई गई । इतना गलत ब्यान दूसरा कोई नहीं हो सकता ।

आपकी सरकार ने इसमें से एक बात नहीं की । आखिर आप गवर्नमेंट की एक एम्बुलेंस बतायें कि उन्होंने घायल लोगों को उठाया या एक कोई पुलिस वैन आप बतायें–यह तो शहर के लोग उमड पड़े– उसकी वीडियो फिल्में हैं और फोटोग्राफ हैं । आप चैक कर सकते हैं । लोग जिनको आदत नहीं है खून देखने की, इसमें कोई एक दल के नहीं, सभी लोग थे, कोई एक धर्म के नहीं थे, सभी थे, एक भाषा के नहीं थे; सभी लोग उतर कर उठा रहे है । महराष्ट्र सरकार इसमें से किसी एक को अस्पताल नहीं ले गई । आप यहां दावा कर रहे हैं कि जैसे कि बस यह होते ही आपकी गाडियां तैयार रहीं और आप अस्पाताल में– अस्पाताल में बाद में देखने गए होंगे, यह बात अलग है–लेकिन लेकर कोई नहीं गया । अब इस प्रकार की बाद की भी तो घटनायें हैं, अभी बाद की घटनाओं का आपने क्या किया । अब . . . **(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : प्रमोद जी, आपने 12–20 पर बोलना शुरू किया था . . . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : (राजस्थान) मैडम, इन्ट्रपशन कितनी थीं ।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मैं जल्दी ही खत्म कर रहा हूं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhandari, please don't interrupt...

कालिंग एटेन्शन में जो मूवर होता है, उसको बीस मिनट देते हैं । मगर मामले की गंभीरता को देखते हुए मैंने आपको ज्यादा टाइम दिया है । इसलिए कृपया आप इसे वाइंड कर दीजिए ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मुंबई के होने के नाते . . . . **(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : नहीं, सवाल यह है कि यह वहां जाकर आए हैं, इसलिए बोल रहे हैं । यह मूवर है, पर जरा संक्षेप में कर दीजिए ।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति, समाचार-पत्रों में यह छपा है कि तीन हफ्ते पहले इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो का रिपोर्ट यह था कि मुम्बई की ओर इस प्रकार के दस्ते जा रहे हैं ।

मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि इसमें सच्चाई क्या है ?

उपसभापति : जो, घटना हो गई, हो गई । उसकी गंभीरता तो अपने आप में महत्व की है, लेकिन मुझे यह डर है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार इस घटना करने वाले लोगों को पकड नहीं सकी, तो इससे तो दुनिया को ऐसा संदेश जाएगा, आधा तो जा चुका है कि यहां कुछ हो सकता है ।

अब होने के बाद भी नहीं पकडे जा सके, तो मुझे लगता है कि इससे बुरा संदेश तो दुनिया को नहीं कहीं जाएगा ।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आखिर वह कौन लोग थे, जिन्होंने यह किया । इसके बारे में सरकार की क्या जानकारी है ? प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि मस्तिष्क बाहर है, हाथ अंदर है । गृह मंत्री ने कहा कि इटरनेशनल षडयंत्र है ।

मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा दक्षिण से ऐसे बम विस्फोट होते हैं ।.... (**व्यवधान**)..

एक माननीय सदस्य : आडवाणी जी का .... (**व्यवधान**) ....

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : वह मैं कहूंगा आडवाणी जी का, आप चिंता मत करो । आपकी तरह अपने मुख्य मंत्री को मैं छोड़ नहीं देता हूं, मैं अपने नेता को छोड़ता नहीं, चिंता मत करिए ।

श्री भूनवन्द मीरा (राजस्थान) यह राष्ट्रीय षड़यंत्र मानते हैं इसको ..... (**व्यवधान**).....

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : प्रधान मंत्री, गृह मंत्री और मुख्य मंत्री ये तीनों इतने वरिष्ठ अधिकारी हैं जिनकी ओर से सामान्य आदमी यह जान सकता हें कि आखिर यहां क्या हुआ होगा और तीनों से देश को पता नहीं नहीं चलता हैं कि किधर जा रहे हैं । अब गृह मंत्री नहीं हैं, होते तो अच्छा था । मैं इसलिए कह रहा था कि उन्होंने कहा था कि यह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय षड़यंत्र है। अब मैं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय षड़यंत्र तो ऐसा शब्द है जिसमें दो राष्ट्र हो सकते हैं, गोया एंटायर यूनाइटेड नेशंस हमारे खिलाफ हो गई कि बहुत आर्थिक प्रगति हमने कर ली, बहुत सुधार कर लिए तो उनको लगा बहुत डर गए, शुरू किया । यह अंतर्राष्ट्रीय षडयंत्र क्या है ? सरकार घबरा क्यों रही हें उनका नाम लेने से जो इनके पीछे हो सकते हैं ? अब मस्तिष्क बाहर कहते हम, इसका मतलब हें कि प्रधान मंत्री के मस्तिष्क में कोई बाहर के मस्तिष्क का अंदाजा तो हें ? जब मुख्यमंत्री कहते हैं कि इस प्रकार के बम विस्फोट कहां हुए थे इस प्रकार की जानकारी है, इसका मतलब है मुख्य मंत्री का कोई तो उद्देश्य है ? जब इस देश का गृह मंत्री कहता है कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय षडयंत्र था तो प्रेस को कहें कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय षडयंत्र था और हमें यहां कुछ नहीं कहें ? हम जानना चाहते हैं कि कौन सा षडयंत्र था ? स्टेमेंटट में कुछ नहीं, प्रैस को कहो कि वह अंतर्राष्ट्रीय षडयंत्र था । अगर है तो सदन में कहो और कौन से वे राष्ट्र हैं ? मुझे किसी की वकालत नहीं करनी है ।..... (**व्यवधान**)... दो-तीन मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा । इसमें अगर लिट्टे दोषी है तो उनको सजा हदो । इससें अगर ईरान दोषी है तो उसको सजा दो । इसम अगर पाकिस्तान दोषी है तो उसको सजा दो । लेकिन सवाल यह आता है कि इसको पकड़ने के लिए आपका मस्तिष्क साफ चाहिए । आप घुमा-फिरा कर इधर-उधर जाने की कोशिश मत करिए । आखिर कोई छोटा मर्डर होता है, उसके पीछे भी मोटिव होता है और कोई पुलिस इंसपैक्टर भी जब मर्डर के ऊपर जाता है तो उसको पहले यह पढाया जाता है कि फाइंड आउट द मोटिव । अगर इसके पीछे लिट्टे था तो लिट्टे का मोटवि क्या हो सकता है ? बीच में पंजाब के लोगों का आपने नाम लिया तो उनका मोटिव क्या हो सकता है ? इसलिए जो स्थिति बनी है आज देश की राजनीति में, जिस प्रकार पाकिस्तान आज काश्मीर में कर रहा है, जिस प्रकार पाकिस्तान आज पंजाब म कर रहा हें, हिन्दुस्तान की दृष्टि से मुंबई के जो घटना हुई हें उसमें पाकिस्तान इंटेलिजेंस सर्विस का ही हाथ सब से ज्यादा हो सकता है । सरकार इस बारे में अपना मस्तिष्क साफ करे, अपने विचार साफ करें । आपने आडवाणी जी का नाम लिया, हां हमने आरोप किया है । हम छुपाते नहीं हैं कि ऐसा इसके पीछे होगा । हमारी दृष्टि से लगता है कि सारी जो स्थिति बनी है उसमें कोई व्यक्ति यह नहीं कर सकता, कोई छोटा संगठन यह नहीं कर सकता, भले मदद करने वाले लोग स्थानीय हों । लेकिन इसको जितना पैसा और बम-गोला लगता है यह सारा कोई स्टेट एजेंसी ही इसको कर सकती है । अगर स्टेट एजेंसी ने किया है तो क्या यह पाकिस्तान ने किया हें ? क्योंकि श्रीलंका ने कहा यह बहुत गलत हुआ । आज मेजने जान मेजर ने हमको कहा कि बहुत गलत हुआ । लेकिन हमारे पडौसी ने हमको यह नहीं कहा । .... (**व्यवधान**)... आज गया हें.... (**व्यवधान**).... यही तो मैं कह रहा हूं... (**व्यवधान**)....आप यहां पाकिस्तान की वकालत मत करो । ... (**व्यवधान**)... जब कल पाकिस्तान पर संशय की सुई जा पहुंची और वह आपके कारण नहीं, जब हमने यह भूमिका ली, तब उन्होंने किया । उसके पहले उन्होंने नहीं किया । .... (**व्यवधान**)... तो क्या आपने किया ? उपसभापति महोदया, यह लिए ने नहीं किया, यह पाकिस्तान ने नहीं किया तो क्या सरकार ने किया है ?.. (**व्यवधान**)..

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री : यह किसका पाप छिपाना चाहते हैं ? (**व्यवधान**)..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: You are very right, Mr. Jagesh Desai. You don't know it. Then, how can you call it 'international conspiracy'? How can you say that the brain is outside?

उपसभापति : अब आप अपनी बात को जरा खत्म करने की कोशिश करिए, क्योंकि,

I have got other names.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं अंत में केवल इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि मुंबई में जब जनवरी के दंगे हुए तो तत्कालीन रक्षा मंत्री और वर्तमान महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा था और मैं उसे कोट करता हूं कि मुंबई में जो दंगे हुए, इसका किसी-न-किसी को प्रायश्चित लेना पड़ेगा ही और अगर महाराष्ट्र के तत्कालीन मुख्य मंत्री नहीं लेंगे तो मैं लूंगा।" अब मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि अगर दुनिया की अप्रत्याशित इस प्रकार घटना इस देश में हुई हैं तो इसका प्रायश्चित कौन लेगा ? इस परिवार के मुखिया के रूप में क्या प्रधान मंत्री इसका प्रायश्चित लेंगे ? गृह मंत्री जिन पर कि सीधे इस गृह की रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी है, वह गृह मंत्री प्रायश्चित लेंगे या मुख्य मंत्री जो अभी 7 दिन से तो वहां डायरेक्टली राज कर रहे हैं, क्या वह इसका प्रायश्चित लेंगे ? उपसभापति महोदया, 12 मार्च को 12 स्थानों पर 120 मिनिट के अंदर 300 लोगों की हत्या करने वाली इस घटना का प्रायश्चित सरकार की ओर से कौन लेगा ? क्योंकि अगर लॉ एण्ड ऑर्डर की सिचुएशन अच्छी होती है तो आप कहते हैं कि हमारी सरकार है, तो बिगड़ी स्थिति की जिम्मेदारी कौन लेगा ? इसलिए मैं आग्रहपूर्वक कह सकता हूं कि जब एक रेल दुर्घटना के कारण अगर लाल बहादुर शास्त्री त्यागपत्र दे सकते हैं तो इतनी बड़ी दुर्घटना हो जाने के बाद हिंदुस्तान में नरसिंह राव की सरकार को एक दिन भी राज करने का अधिकार नहीं है।

श्री विष्णुकांत शास्त्री : नहीं है, नहीं है।

श्री प्रमोद महाजनथे : यह पूर्णरूप से रूप से सिद्ध हुए हैं और इसलिए स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री को दुनिया की इस सबसे बड़ी दुर्घटना का प्रायश्चित लेना पड़ेगा, इस मांग को दोहराते हुए मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Subramanian Swamy. Without my calling you, you get up? You won't wait till I call you?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, first of all, we should conrgatulate the people of Bombay because, despite this terrible development, they have shown courage and also they have exhibited equanimity in a manner which all of us should appropriate.

According to the information given and what has appeared in the newspapers, it appears that a large number of explosions took place from 1.20 P.M. in the Bombay Stock Exchange and all along till 4-00 P.M. in the Mahim bus depot. I donder, after reading the Government's statement, whether they have understood the wider implications of these explosions besides the human suffering which the Minister has referred to in his statement, and that is what I would like to talk about today, the wider implications for the country.

It is easy to find fault and it is easy to make politcal capital and that can be done by both sides. But the fact is that there is a wider implication and that wider implication is, one, that in the financial capital of India which, in my opinion, has one of the finest police forces in any metropolitan city in the country a terrorist organization has operated in secrecy, planned and detonated bombs in more than 11 places, without either being caught radhanded or being caught subsequently. What is this due to? Is it because the

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

police is demoralised for some reason? Or, is it that the Bombay police which has such a fine reputation, lacks the inspiration to do it? Or, is it simply that the Bombay police or any police in the country is not up to the high-tech terrorism that has invaded our country? If it is the last, then I am afraid that Bombay won't be the last incident.

1.00 P.M.

You are likely to expect this in other parts of the country. In fact, even the capital is not safe. Even this Parliament cannot be safe. In fact, there is no part of India that can be safe. We would be, to use a colourful expression, a sitting duck for the modern high-tech terrorism in the world. In other parts of the world, these have been explosions. In London, there were explosions. In New York, there has been one explosion. But, generally speaking, the perpetrators get identified and the country then follows through with deterrent retaliation. When the Pan American aircraft was blown up or some night club in Frankfurt was once blown up, the country behind it, the terrorist organisation behind it was identified and deterrent retaliation followed. And since then, these countries have been much safer than we hav been. And, in fact, that it what we have to do. Do we have that determination? That is the second question I would like to raise here today. The first part, the first question I have already raised: Are we equipped to combat this high-tech terrorism because in terms of men and material, in terms of particularly the human quality of our police, despite all the political interference, despite all the criminalisation of Indian politics, the police is still in a position to deliver the goods provided the right inspiration and training is there. And certainly I would not fault the Bombay police. Having represented that city for two Lok Sabha terms, having spent anum ber of years in the city, I would not like to fault the Bombay police. But, are we equipping the police? That is the first question. And the second question is: Are we going to send a message to the terrorists that such things will call for deterrent ratalia-tion? I raise this question because, I must say, I am extremely said that after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, the terrorist group behind it was identified, the person who gave the order was identified, a charge-sheet was filed against him, viz. Mr. Pirabhakaran, the head of the LTTE—it is just 35 KMs across where he is staying—but the country has not made any efforts to get him, either to bring him physically or to try and capture him; he may swallow a cyanide capsule or whatever. But, there has been nothing, no effort. The death of Rajiv Gandhi was an insult to our national sovereignty that at the time of election, a terrorist organisation came to our country and assassinated one of our tall national leaders who had been the Prime Minister of the country. And who it was was identified by the same incompetent police. They got the evidence. A charge-sheet was filed. But the Government of India has not taken up this issue. I am not raising it for the first time today. I have been raising this a number of times in Parliament that Rajiv Gandhi's assassination is an insult to our national sovereignty, and the inability of the Government to get Pirabhakaran is actually a very sad commentary on the state of affairs in the country today. But it has not been done. So, today, if the Bombay incident takes place, whatever be the motivation, the fact is that if the power of the Indian State is not there to have a deterrent retaliation, such things will happen all the time, and we will be thoroughly exposed. And we will become, in fact, the butt of ridicule in the world that such a large country, with such a huge governmental machinery is not able to identify or take deterrent action.

The third important implication is whether we had advance information or not. Mr. Pramod Mahajan was right that this was not a small operation. There are a very large number of people involved clearly because the spread of explosions, the sequencing of the explosion, the timing of these explosions—all these things have been timed for maximum population damage—the timings have been so chosen, and the targets have been so chosen. And if indeed there was no advance information, then, in my opinion, the IB, the RAW and all the other Intelligence Chiefs should tender their resignation. We must set an example, if there was advance information. And, according to me, the IB had also warned after the Bombay riots that Bombay city is going to become a hotbed of insurgency. Whether they meant this or not, I do not know. But there it was. And this is the time we should look at ourselves. Are we spending our energy to look at the threats to our national security or just smaller threats? I would like the Government to tell us very clearly as to what the source of their information is. You might either tell us in the House or you may take us in a separate briefing or whatever, but we would like to know. I have myself given information to the Government from the sources—when I was a Minister—which provided very accurate information that the LTTE had declared that they will retaliate for Kittu's death. Government of Ind was not responsible for Kittu's death. They just intercepted a ship. Mr. Prabhakaran gave a radio message to him that he should swallow cyanide and kill himself. The fact that the Government of India intercepted this ship was an insult to the LTTE, and so they would retaliate. This is a public statement of the LTTE. LTTE teams have arrived in India and that also our intelligence agencies know. Whether they are involved in Bombay or not. I cannot say but I can say with authority that the LTTE is in total league with the ISI of Pakistan. LTTE teams were taken to Karachi and to the borders of Afghanistan and given advanced weapons including AK-56 which today figures in the weapons that have been intercepted or caught. There is a report of the U.S. Congressional body which says that Iran has set apart six billion dollors to work through a network. I do not know. I don't want to spoil your relations with Iran but certainly if Iran has a side activity, we need to find out about it and I think this is time for us to seriously look at this question. In fact, what we need to seriously consider today is what we do not have, and that is a coherent clear-cut counter-terrorist strategy. We bemoan when our people are affected by terrorism. But the examples are there. In Kashmir, the I.O.C. Chairman was caught and he was kept, I don't know for how long, for two years or one year or six months, or whatever period. We had to ultimately exchange him for some other people. This happened in the past also in Dr. Rubaiya's case. Then there were Israeli tourists in Srinagar. One of them who was kidnapped by the same Hizbulla group, was let off within 48 hours without any condition. What are the details? There is no doubt that Israelis have worked out a very effective counter-terrorist strategy. What is it? Have we studied it? I don't think we have studied it. I think it will be advisable for the Government to set up a commission to examine the nature of terrorism today that we are facing and draw up from the international experience and formulate a cooherent counter-terrorist strategy. You cannot negotiate with terrorists. I don't know whether Ministers are negotiating with terrorists in Kashmir. If they are, it is a very bad thing. You can never negotiate with terrorists. Terrorists have to be fought and ought at every level. For that, you need a strategy.

The Government does not have this strategy, and that is why such a thing has happened in Bombay today. If that wakes us up, like the Chinese attack in 1962 woke us up on our lax defence, well, certain advantages would accrue.

I would conclude, Madam Deputy Chairman; I know you are looking at the bell...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am looking at the list.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am just saying one last point. We also have to recognise that terrorists cannot operate in this country unless the local environment provides them with recruits. It is not possible for terrorists to plant bombs in 17 or 15 places and subject them to radio control and get away with it without a trace unless there is a local support, and local support can only come when the population is alienated. Something must have gone wrong. That is where the Government has to tighten itself up and strengthen its resolve that the climate of hate which has been created and which exists today should be defused. In fact, those who have created this climate of that are the de facto collaborators of the terrorists. I am not naming anybody. I am not pointing an accusing finger at anybody. But the country knows which is that agency, or, a parivar of agencies, which is responsible for creating this climate of hate which has provided the recruits to the terrorists. That is why terrorists have always been able to set foot in the country. We have to combat this also at the political level for which the Government must come out with a strategy. This is all I wanted to say.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, Unfortunately, this statement prepared by my hon. colleague seems to have made an attempt to hold back information. I could go into instances, but some instances have been given. Government, it seems, does not want to share information with the House. It is an attempt to hold back and that is very unfortunate.

Further, the statement falls short of the requirements because, Madam it does not say that the chain of developments in Bombay indicate that terrorism has reached a new high, a new peak, a new dimension in the country. Without a proper realisation of the new dimension that terrorism has reached in the country, with the explosions in Bombay, it will be very difficult for the Government to gear up its machinery and meet the challenge.

Thirdly, I thought the Minister would end the statement with a clarion call to the nation to fight terrorism with the united might of the society. Terrorism cannot be fought by anti-terrorism campaigns. Terrorism cannot be fought by having a tactics mainly dependent on administration and police. Terrorism can be fought only with the help of the people, with the might of the country and with a counter-political movement. There is no menion of the role of the people in the statement of the role of Minister so far as the movement that should develop in the country to meet the challenge posed by the terrorists is concerned.

It is not that only the Government is in the fault. I am sorry to say that the speeches made in the very beginnig from the opposition did not take note of the fact that terrorism is etriking at a period when the political environment in the country is seriously being eroded. It is the hatred, it is the disunity, it is the violence it is the lack of confidence in the Constitution, it is caring a fig for the judciary, which creates an objective situation where terrorism thrives. Terrorism must have its own objective reality. But the objective reality has not been sought only

[Shri Guru Das Gupta]

either by the LTTE or Pakistan or somebody else or somebody within the country. The situation that has been sought to be created in the country in the very recent past may also be considered to be an element very conducive for terrorism to strike. This is a point, this is a political point, which the Minister seems to have forgotten.

Madam, it is equally simplistic on the part of the Government to say that terrorists want to knock down our economic growth and strategy because a bomb was planted at the Stock Exchange. This simplistic version of the wider remifications of the development would take the Go-Government in a wrong direction. Equally simplistic has been the explanation from the side of the opposition. It is totaly wrong to say that it has a political bias because the bomb was placed, or, the bomb exploded a few hundred yards away from the office of the Shiv Sena. But I agree, Madam, that it is not the political strategy which has been made the target; the present move of the terrorists has been deliberately calculated to create a political panic and disorder in the country. It is not that they want the foreign investors to go away; it is that they want the country to be divided, the country to be disrupted, panic to be created and that India should lose its strength and ground. That is precisely the psychology of the conspirators Instead of looking at the problem from a national angle, the Government is overwhelmed with the Manmohan stretagy, believing that the bombs might have exploded to explode the move of India's economic growth and the strategy.

While going into details, I would like to say that I had been to Bombay. The Communist Party that was holding its session in Trichur, while being informed of the catastrophe, had sent a delagation to Bombay. Within less than 12 hours we had reached there. The point is, a group of people were at work. The explosions had taken place at 11 places. It was not one man who had planted the bomb. At all places. there were more than one or two or three persons. Everywhere we heard from the people that a bomb-laden Maruti car was stationed. Who had brought the car, who had driven the car, who had procured the car? Therefore, it was a group of people who had actually carrid out this conspiracy most meticuoously and it cannot have been a small group. At least 36 or 40 people had been at work, but there was also a back-up arrangement which enabled them to procure this type of explosive from outside. The Government might have spoken of the involvement of the foreign powers because this explosive is not available within the country. Somebody had procured this explosive from outside the country. Who procured it, who paid for it, who carried it; who had made the bombs within the country, who had arranged shelter for them, who had arranged the blueprint and who had arranged for the escape route? Therefore, Madam, it is not the work of only man who had planted the bomb. There was a group of people, there was a back-up arrangement. Madam, fifty to sixty people must have been at work and this could not have been done in a day or two. There as a prolonged period, a prolonged period of preparation, a prolonged period of calculation for carrying out the whole thing with precising. My point is, why such a prolonged conspiracy by a large number of people could ot cach the eye of the Indian intelligence. We had a high profile Internal Security Minister and the high profile Internal Security Minister is the captain of the team. The team has failed. Internal security has failed: The Government owes an explanation. What is the special category of work assigned to the Internal Security Departmen? How is that Department performing its job? Madam,

let me tell you, let me share my information with the House, that by the end of 1992 we came to know that a group of people were caught by the Intelligence Department. One Lal Singh was arrested and from his statement the Government came to know that the commercial centres at a number of cities, including Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, were going to be made the target of the terrorists' attack. At least that was the confession and because of the arrest of Lal Singh that project could not be carried out. My point is why itnelligence could not catch up with the conspirators in the subsequent period of time. If my information is true, why could not the Intelligence Depatment put its eye to it, could not be viglant and could not catch up with the conspirators?

Madam, it is true that the Government had been making irresponsible statements. I agree with Mr. Pramod Mahajan, there have been contradictory statements somebody saying a foreign hand, somebody saying a foreign power, somebody sayying a neighbouring country, somebody saying a terrorist organization. Members of the Government have been making contradictory statements, and it gives rise to a serious apprehension that the Government is not moving with single-mindedness. If you are quite sure that Pakistan is involved, please let us know what the basis is. Why is it that Mr. Saxena, who was still yesterday the Governor of Kashmir, has made an open statement that this particular country is involved? It is an irresponsible statement to the extent that you are prejudging the inquiry. You have instituted an inquiry. Let the inquiry give its verdict. We are not going to condone Pakistan nor LTTE nor any Middle-East terrorist organization we don't want to condone anybody. But our judgement must be on the basis of facts.

India is a great country. It cannot lose its credibility, it cannot tend to become irresponsible. The people must not be given to understand that we are making our statement to vitiate the inquiry. If the Prime Minister or any Minister Makes a prejudgement, it means the investigations are vitiated and there is not going to be a ful-fledged inquiry.

Madam, what is important is, we must not get into a vicious circle—either a political vicious circle, saying that there is a political consipirasy because some bomb exploded before the office of the Shiv Sena, or any other vicious circle. The country is more than the Shiv Sena, the country is more than the BJP. The country is more than Mr. Narasimha Rao...

AN HON. MEMBER: More than the CPI!

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Yes, it is more than the CPI, of course.

AN HON. MEMBER: And Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta also!

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Of course, of course! The country is more than any single individual or a group of political parties or a political party.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER): Above everything!

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Above everybody!

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, the point is, doubt came to my mind because the statement is being made that the terrorist attack was made to prevent India's economic growth. I think this is a partial statement, a simplified statement, a school boy-type statement. But somebody from the other side says that the terrorist attack has a political angle because the Shiv Sena's office was sought to be attacked. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please let him speak. It is his right to make his point, just as Mr. Mahajan had his right to make his point... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: My appeal ... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shastriji, I warn you: Please don't interrupt. I don't like it.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: My appeal to the nation is, let us not get ourselves submerged in vicious circles. We are already in a vicious circle. I agree, it has a political angle, not because Shiv Sena's office was sought to be attacked. I agree, it has an economic angle, not because a bomb was planted in the Stock Exchange. This is an attempt to create disorder, this is an attempt to break India, this is an attempt to weaken our country, this is an attempt to further pollute the environment of our country.

Madam, a country is being named. And why is a country being named? I don't mind if Pakistan is being named but the country is being named but the country is bing named because that name suits the political ideology of a particular party. That is where I object, that is where I shall be objecting, whatever may be the repercussions on my friends and my enemies. ...(Time-bell rings)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Das Gupta, will you please wind up?

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): For the same reason, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, you defend Pakistan in the House.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: If I say that a country may be hauled up on the basis of substantial evidence, is it in defence of any country?

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: May I ask hon. Members of the House to kindly stand up and say, if a colleague of theirs declares, "Let there be an uninhibited investigation on the basis of the material collected and let that country be hauled up", is it in defence of that country; Or is it completely political stupidity to believe that I make use of this incident because it suits my political philosophy, because it suits my political psychology? Madam, this is where I warn. Let us not slip into a vicious circle. We have paid enough. We have paid for the stupidity in Ayodhya. We have paid for our stupidity of the "Hindu Rashtra" slogan. We have paid for the stupidity of the carnage that took place in Bombay. Let us not pay a further price for our own stupidity.

Madam, lastly, I believe that this is the time to say that terrorism has to be fought unitedly. What is the strength? Our faith in the Constitution is the strength. What is the strength of terrorism? Terrorism thrives on the basis of disunity. Terrorism thrives in a situation of suspicion. Terrorism thrives on the basis of lack of confidence in the system under which the country is at the moment functioning. Therefore, let us reaffirm our faith in the Constitution. Let us reaffirm our faith in democracy. Let us reaffirm our faith in the values that the Indian nation stood for. Let us believe that India, with its united might across beliefs and colours, will be able to take care of terrorism, wherever might be its source. The source might be in Karachi. The source might be in Sri Lanka. The source might be somewhere else. The country with its internal strength, with the valour, courage and conviction of the people, will be able to stand up to the situation.

Madam, at the end, I must congratulate the people of Bombay. I was in Bombay for 48 hours. The people of Bombay did not allow themselves

to be overwhelmed by a sense of panic. That is the lesson for the whole country. I believe the people of Bombay need to be congratulated. I think the people of India will take care of the situation that is sought to be created by terrorists in the country.

Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr. G. Swaminathnan.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, are you adjourning for lunch?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, we are adjourning for lunch. If you want me to adjourn four minutes in advance....

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No, Madam, I will speak, and then I will continue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: you will continue. Sure.

SRHI G. SWAMINATHAN: I just wanted to know about it

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will continue after lunch.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: As has been mentioned by the speaker who preceded me, Shri Gurudas Das Gupta, this is a mtter which is above parties, above persons, and we have to deal with this matter as the citizens of this country. That is how I view it because we cannot afford to take political or partisan attitudes on a matter of this nature. As an individual and as a citizen I may like to give certain points which may contradict some persons or some parties. I personally feel, we are all anguished and distressed over these bomb-blasts in Bombay.

While starting my speech on this, I would like to remind about a statement made by Mr. Mahajan, who spoke earlier. I am also thoroughly disappointed by the statement of the hon. Minister. Today morning we read in the newspapers that besides a car which was located, which could give some clue, a scooter wa also found with a bomb. All th newspapers of today have reporte this. When we, party leaders, me the hon. Home Minister today, th hon. Home Minister also informed u that there was a scooter found in particular locality with a bomb an that it had to be detonated after certain period of time. The news pa pers have also reported that the sam scooter was standing there for mor than 24 hours, two days or thre days, that the police in Bombay ha not yet identified the source of th scooter and that no action had bee taken. A doctor who had got suspi cious about the scooter the previou day, waited for the next day and *thereafter, informed the police.* Th police went there and took posse sion of the scooter. It only mean that there was some delay. There wa no urgency with the police to locat the source and to take immediat action.

More than that, what I want to sa is that when a statement of this na ture is made before Parliament, be fore Rajya Sabha, a complete state ment has to be made by the Minister It is known to the press, and I reac from the press, that such a scooter has been found, but your statemen does not contain anything about the scooter or the gravity of the situation The gravity of the situation had been admitted by the Home Mini ster himself. So, I am not able to understand why he has read an incomplete statement before the Rajya Sabha. One more thing that I would like to say here is that we cannot draw conclusions on a matter that has happened in Bom bay. Some countries have been identified. It has been said that Pakistan may be involved in it or Iran may be involved in it. Another speaker before that had said that the LTTE might have been involv ed, because Kittu had died in that ship accident in the Indian Ocean. Consequent to that Prabhakaran has vowed some retributory action against India. So, three countries

have been named. Today when I went through a paper, I found that there was an argument in an article, that it should be the work of some Muslim country. The argument was that the bomb explosions had occurred only on Friday. The new York explosion had occurred on Friday. Bomb explosion in Egypt arranged from Iran had also occurred on Friday. The Bombay explosions had also occurred on Friday. All the explosions at these three places and one more at another place—I don't remember that place—occurred on Friday. On all these Iran is suspected. The conclusion that they arrived at is that Iran or a Muslim country should be suspected for the bomb explosions. I do not want to arrive at such conclusions today, because we do not have any concrete basis for that. Suppose somebody asks what is the evidence on which I am accusing a particular country, we don't have any evidence. Perhaps other friends there may have. I do not feel that we have sufficient evidence for that. That is why I personally feel that it is advisable.... (Time bell) Madam, I hope you will allow me after lunch.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. You can continue after lunch. The House is adjourned for lunch till 2.30 P.M.:

The House then adjorned for lunch at thirtythree minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty three minutes past two of the clock, **The Vice-Chairman (Shri MD. Salim)** in the Chair.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Bomb explosions in Bombay on the 12 March, 1993—contd

..THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M:D: SALIM): Shri G. Swaminathan to continue. ..

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, the next point I would like to cover is that there has been violence in Bombay during December, 1992 and January, 1993. There were a lot of terrorist activities and then there were bomb blasts. In spite of that, my personal feeling is that adequate precutions have not been taken by the concerned authorities and also by the Government. I am also distressed. As has been pointed out by some Members, the Government should have been more careful in these matters and when such kind of bomb blasts take place the intelligence information either did not reach the Government or even if it reached the Government, they have not taken adequate precautions to see that such bomb blasts were averted. This only indicates that the Government has not been alert. Sir, there should not be any complacency. As it has been stressed by the other speakers, now it has been Bombay, tomorrow it may be other big cities like Delhi and Madrsa. One of the terrorist organisations elsewhere has also sworn that the retribution will be not only at the level of the places but it will also be at the level of persons. We have read a message and also a report in the press that the LTTE supremo had said that the retribution will take place at a very big level in India. So, I would lke to caution the Government that they should take precautionary measures not only regarding the big cities and other important places in India but also about our VVIPs because I personally fear that some kind of retributive measures may be taken by the LTTE. It also indicates that the plastic bambs planted there cannot be easily deteced by dogs and even by specialists. This is the same thing which was also used in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. I am informed that Libya has supplied this kind of material, to other countries, to terrorist organisations. From press report I understand that is sufficient for 150 years for any terrorist organisation anywhere